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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5030

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 MANILA 06943

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E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, SHUM, RP
SUBJECT: DETAINEES AND BASES

REFS: A. STATE 105046, B. STATE 107953
1. SUMMARY: MEETING WITH ENRILE APRIL 28, AS WELL AS PUBLICITY SAME DAY TO STATEMENTS FROM "MALACANANG SOURCES," SUGGEST GOP MAY BE EXPLORING NEW MODALITY IN BASE NEGOTIATIONS, I.E., LINKAGE WITH TRADE QUESTIONS. ACCORDINGLY, VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY CAN EXPECT TO HAVE TO DEAL WITH TRADE QUESTIONS DURING VISIT.

2. WHILE ENRILE PRODUCED LITTLE NEW INFORMATION RE DETAINEES FROM APRIL 7 ELECTION PERIOD, HE USED OCCASION TO POINT UP "AS FRIEND" THE CONSIDERABLE IMPATIENCE ON PHILIPPINE SIDE WITH AMERICAN CRITICISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN PHILIPPINES. END SUMMARY.

3. BASES: CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM, CALLED ON ENRILE APRIL 28 TO CARRY OUT REFTEL A INSTRUCTIONS. ON SUBJECT OF BASES, ENRILE SAID THERE VERY LITTLE TO SAY AT THIS STAGE RE GOP REPLY TO OR THINKING ABOUT U.S. AIDE MEMOIRE OF APRIL 20; STAFFS OF BOTH FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE ARE PREPARING POSITION PAPERS ON U.S. AIDE MEMOIRE; DFA HAS NOT YET COMPLETED ITS PAPER AND ENRILE HAD NOT STUDIED DEFENSE
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PAPER IN DETAIL.

4. ENRILE COMMENTED ON GENERAL ATMOSPHERE RE BASE NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN GOP. HE SAID THERE IS STRONG SEGMENT OF OPINION THAT BASES AND ECONOMIC/TRADE QUESTIONS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH U.S. AT SAME TIME SINCE THEY ARE CLOSELY RELATED. ENRILE SAID THAT SOME WITHIN GOP STATE THERE WERE

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"UNDERSTANDINGS" REACHED IN 1972-73, ANTICIPATING END OF LAUREL/LANGLEY AGREEMENT, FOR CERTAIN STEPS BY U.S. AND GOP; GOP FULFILLED ITS SIDE OF BARGAIN BUT STEPS AGREED TO BY USG--"OR PERHAPS EMBASSY"--HAD NOT BEEN TAKEN. ENRILE CITED CONCESSIONS ON LAND HOLDING RIGHTS ON GOP SIDE AND INDICATE HE HAD IN MIND AT LEAST THE FAILURE ON THE U.S. SIDE TO RECTIFY DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PHILIPPINE COCONUT OIL AND MAHOGANY PLYWOOD TRADE.

5. ENRILE SAID GOP FEELINGS ON TRADE ISSUES ARE STRONG AND DEEP AND U.S. SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS BOTH BASES AND TRADE ISSUES TOGETHER IN THE FUTURE. ENRILE WAS NOT SURE THIS WOULD BE APPROACH TAKEN DURING VICE PRESIDENT VISIT BUT HE IMPLIED IT WAS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE.

6. ENRILE REVIEWED DIFFICULTIES IN USG APPROACH TO BASE COMPENSATION. HE SAID GOP BELIEVES U.S. USE OF BASES ON PHILIPPINE SOIL ENTAILS OBLIGATIONS ON PART OF USG TO PROVIDE COMPENSATION. IN ABSENCE OF U.S. COMMITMENT TO SPECIFIC LEVEL AND FORMS OF COMPENSATION, GOP FEELS IT WOULD BE IN POSITION OF HAVING TO SEEK YEARLY U.S. APPROVAL WHICH WOULD DEPEND IN PART ON FACTORS NOT RELATED TO DEFENS AND SECURITY, WHICH IS WHY HE ADVOCATES A MULTI-YEAR CON-TRACTUAL APPROACH. TO GOP THIS WOULD BE HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE AND UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION. RATHER THAN FIND ITSELF IN SUC POSITION, ENRILE NOTED, AS HE HAD TO AMBASSADOR NEWSOM
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SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE, THAT GOP WOULD RATHER LET US USE THE BASES AND SET QUESTIONS OF COMPENSATION ASIDE AT THIS TIME. WHEN I NOTED THAT ANY SUCH MULTI-YEAR AGREEMENT WOULD BE A POLITICAL IMPOSSIBILITY, ENRILE COMMENTED THAT THE GOP HAD MADE SERIOUS MISTAKE OF NOT ACCEPTING KISSINGER 1976 OFFER. HE SAID GOP SHOULD HAVE LISTENED TO KISSINGER WHO HAD SAID AT TIME THAT NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO OFFER EVEN HALF OF HIS OWN PROPOSAL.

7. DETAINEES AND HUMAN RIGHTS: I RAISED MATTER OF DETAINE PER REFTEL A AND PRODUCED FRONT PAGE BULLETIN TODAY ITEM REPORTING HIRC MAP CUT. ENRILE POINTED TO CLIPPING, REMARKED "THAT IS GOING TO CAUSE US (BOTH) A LOT OF TROUBLE AND EMBARKED UPON LENGTHY AND SPIRITED DESCRIPTION OF ATMOSTPHERE ON PHILIPPINE SIDE ON QUESTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS HE TOUCHED UPON FOLLOWING POINTS:

- MANY ON PHILIPPINE SIDE DO NOT UNDERSTAND HOW CONGRES OR OTHERS CAN READILY ACCEPT WESTERN PRESS ACCOUNTS OF HUMA RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WITHOUT LOOKING INTO CHARGES.

- AMERICANS DO NOT APPRECIATE THAT INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

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WERE UNDERTAKING SEDITIOUS ACTIONS; MOREOVER, SEVERAL OF LABAN DETAINEES (HE CITED TITO GUINGONA, ERNESTO RONDON AND FRANCISCO RODRIGO) WERE OUT OF JAIL ON PREVIOUS CHARGES ON EXPRESS CONDITION THEY NOT ENGAGE IN FURTHER POLITICAL AC- BUT "WE HAVE OUR REASON TO HOLD HIM;" HE SAID CHARITO PLANA WAS BEING SOUGHT ON BASIS REPORTS FROM HER OWN RELATIVES

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THAT THERE HAD BEEN 30 ARMED MEN HIDING IN HER HOUSE.

- LARGE NUMBERS OF FILIPINOS ARE YOUNG ENOUGH THAT THEY HAVE NO EXPERIENCE WITH HELP AND ASSISTANCE U.S. HAS GIVEN TO GOP IN THE PAST. THEIR JUDGMENTS ARE BASED ON THE PRESENT AND THEY RESENT AMERICAN CRITICISM AND THE DISTOR- TIONS OF THE WESTERN PRESS.

- AMERICAN CRITICISMS OFTEN GIVE THE IMPRESSION AMERICA WANTS THE PHILIPPINES TO RETURN TO THE PRE-MARTIAL LAW DAYS WITH ALL ITS DISORDER, CHAOS AND DANGERS TO PEOPLE'S LIVES AND SECURITY.

- ENRILE CONCLUDED BY STATING U.S. SHOULD NOT BE SURPRI WHEN INTERIM ASSEMBLY CONVENES IF SOME THINGS SAID ABOUT USG WHICH U.S. WOULD PREFER NOT TO HEAR.

8. I NOTED THAT AMERICAN OPINION NATURALLY IS INFLUENCED BY BARE FACTS THAT OF 21 LABAN CANDIDATES IN APRIL 7 ELECTION ONE IS IMPRISONED, FOUR SUBSEQUENTLY HAVE BEEN DETAINED, AND FOUR APPARENTLY ARE BEING SOUGHT BY THE AUTHORITIES. EVEN WE ARE UNABLE TO ANSWER INQUIRIES SATIS- FACTORILY, I ADDED, AND INQUIRED ABOUT POSSIBLE TRANSFER TO CIVILIAN COURTS. ENRILE SAID THE CASES ARE STILL UNDER

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INVESTIGATION; HE WAS NOT SURE WHAT DECISION WOULD BE MADE
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ABOUT THEIR FUTURE, INCLUDING THEIR POSSIBLE TRANSFER TO CIVILIAN JURISDICTION.

9. REFTEL B WAS RECEIVED TOO LATE TO PERMIT MENTION OF CONGRESSIONAL LETTERS TO MARCOS AND SECRETARY. IN INTRODUCTORY REMARKS RE CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, HOWEVER, I HAD MENTIONED THE HIRC CUT AND EXPLAINED THE CUT MORE FULLY TOWARD THE END OF OUR MEETING BASED ON EA/PHL WEEKLY STAFF NOTES ITEM.

10. COMMENT: ENRILE WAS HIS USUAL CORDIAL SELF, FIRST NAMES AND ALL THAT, AND MADE HIS OBSERVATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS "AS OLD FRIEND" WITHOUT SIGN OF ANGER OR RANCOR. BUT HE WAS VERY SERIOUS AND DIRECT. HIS PRINCIPAL PURPOSE SEEMED TO BE TO CONVEY IMPRESSION THAT GOP PATIENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE HAS WORN RATHER THIN. WHILE THIS MOST LIKELY REFLECTS ENRILE'S OWN FEELINGS, IT ALSO MAY HAVE BEEN POINTED UP IN EFFORT TO BLUNT HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION DURING VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. IT ALMOST CERTAINLY REFLECT GOP UNEASE ABOUT HOW BEST TO ENGAGE THE VICE PRESIDENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE.

11. THE LINKAGE BY ENRILE AND TODAY'S PRESS OF MILITARY BASES AND TRADE ISSUES IS PUZZLING IN THAT U.S. CONCESSIONS ON COCONUT OIL AND MAHAGONY PLYWOOD WOULD NOT APPEAR TO ADD UP TO ALL THAT MUCH AT LEAST IN THE SHORT RUN. HOWEVER, TH ISSUE OF U.S. TARIFF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE PHILIPPINES HAS AN EMOTIONAL AND POLITICAL VALUE HERE THAT MAY APPEAR T MARCOS TO BE WORTH PURSUING AT THIS TIME. THIS MAY PARTICULARLY BE THE CASE TO THE EXTENT THAT HIS TRADE EXPERTS JUDGE THAT BY PRESSING HARD NOW THE GOP COULD WIN TRADE CONCESSIONS AND THEREBY DEMONSTRATE ITS CAPACITY TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY AND ADVANTAGEOUSLY WITH THE AMERICANS DURING A
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PERIOD WHEN BASE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE YET TO PRODUCE HOPED FOR RESULTS. STULL

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